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ABSTRACT

A study examined the current status and likely future of trade unions in the German Trade Union Federation. The study focused on the following topics: unions as part of a social partnership, unions as partners in self-administration, collective pay policy against unemployment, plant reorganization and its impact on work and wages, the trend toward increasing part-time employment, flexible working hours, company pension schemes and invested wages, the basic problem of long-term unemployment, efforts to avoid a downward spiral in employment and wages, upheaval in Germany's unions, union efforts to gain more members, and union members with foreign passports. The study established that, within a 2-year period, union membership decreased from 11.8 million to 10.3 million. Membership losses were especially high in eastern Germany. The future of the federation as the umbrella organization of Germany's trade unions was being questioned by several branch unions that are seeking more powers at the local level and expressing a desire to integrate with certain other branch unions. Despite the internal problems facing the German unions, their stabilizing function in the economy and society as a whole still remained evident. (A list of the federation's 16 branch trade unions with membership numbers is included.) (MN)

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The trade unions in Germany

Facing new challenges

by

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Introduction

The German Trade Union Federation (DGB) has a total membership of more than 10 million workers, of which 3.2 million are women. Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl emphasised the need for strong trade unions at the DGB congress in Berlin in mid-June 1994 which elected steel expert Dieter Schulte its chairman in succession to the late Heinz-Werner Meyer. Schulte, previously a member of the Executive Board of IG Metall, the metalworkers' trade union, wants to modernise the German trade unions and "lead and bring them together". In view of the millions of unemployed in Germany, the DGB is seeking new strategies in order to be able to perform as a strong negotiating partner also vis-à-vis the employers' associations.

The number of workers organised in the 16 German trade unions fell within two years from 11.8 million to 10.3 million. In particular, the trade unions lost many members in eastern Germany who were registered in the files of the former GDR. But the long recession and growing unemployment were also noticeable in the West. The trade unions have less revenue and are going through an orientation crisis. With German unity and the political change in East Europe, the unions were thrown back to old core problems and social issues. In Germany it was now about alleviating the impacts of the collapse of the GDR industry or countering "wage dumping" through East European temporary workers.

A further focal point of the latest internal discussion in the DGB is the question of the future role of the umbrella organisation. IG Metall and the civil service and transport workers' trade union, ÖTV, or the chemicals industry trade union, IG Chemie, want a federation that allows the individual unions their own scope. They believe the DGB should limit itself to its core tasks, socio-political commentaries and individual and collective legal advice,

while concrete work in companies should be left to the branch organisations. In order to strengthen themselves for this work, several individual trade unions are aiming at close integration. The unions covering the chemicals and coal mining industries and the mini-union for the leather industry are planning to merge soon. IG Bau, Steine, Erden, covering the building industry, wants to integrate with the farmers' and foresters' organisation. By contrast, the trade unions embracing the branches wood and plastics, education and science, the media or food and catering are defending their independence. Not a few trade union members expect from their organisations more than the improvement of their incomes, shorter working hours or better working conditions. What is called for is a more intensive commitment, for example on ecological issues.

The restructuring is handicapped not least by the fact that in their clout among one another the trade unions still in many cases reflect the industrial society of the 1960s. The No.1, with a third of all DGB members, is IG Metall, which is essentially the trade union of the motor industry. The trade unions representing the civil services also have great weight - at a time when deregulation and privatisation are also serious targets of public employers. The limitation of the state monopoly in postal services is an example. For many employees of software and mobile telephone companies, providers of financial services and part-time workers in other service areas, trade union goals often remain extraneous. In their eyes, the industry-wide collective bargaining agreements favoured by the trade unions do justice to neither the specific possibilities of individual companies nor the personal needs and capabilities of the employees.

However, these internal problems of the German trade unions cannot obscure their stabilising function in the economy and society as a whole. This was clear anew at the national DGB congress in June 1994. Like the Federal Chancellor as guest speaker, newly-elected chairman Dieter Schulte

identified himself with new ways to master mass unemployment even if, as in the case of part-time work, this presupposes a change of mentality among wide circles of the working community.

The location advantage of social partnership

In the spring of 1994 the European Union's single market had about 20 million unemployed, of which almost four million were in Germany. The German EU presidency during the second half of the year will be characterised by measures for an economic and employment upswing. German economic indicators show declining jobless figures, moderate pay rises of hardly more than 2 per cent, and annual retail price inflation limited to 3 per cent. New orders in the key building industry at the beginning of 1994 were five per cent higher in the old Federal states, and 25 per cent higher in the new ones, than at the same time in the previous year. Productivity per employee in the chemicals industry was 10 per cent greater than the year before.

The success is due to three actors: politics, which is responsible for favourable legal framework conditions; employers in private industry, who provide innovations and investments; and the trade unions which, by moderate pay demands, give priority to growth of productivity.

In this constellation, those involved are simultaneously team-mates and opponents - and can only be the one when at the same time they are the other. The role of the trade unions and employers is anchored in Article 9 of the German Constitution. The right to strike and lock-out is quaranteed, but they are practised more seldom in Germany than in other countries. According to Georg Leber, the former chairman of the building workers' trade union and Federal minister, the unions and management pursue a businesslike balance of interests "with an eye on a paramount public interest". With its Law to Promote Economic Stability and Growth of the mid-1960s, the state committed itself to contributing through regulated measures to monetary stability, full employment, and external equilibrium under the conditions of adequate growth - the realisation of the "uneasy quadrangle".

How much the state's share counts is shown in the development of the statutory social security contributions: in 1950 they accounted for less than 15 per cent of labour costs, while today, although they declined slightly from 1982 to 1992, they are more than 30 per cent. Income tax comes on top of that, so that net pay often amounts to only half of the gross sum. Alongside government policy, the decisions on interest rates taken by the autonomous German *Bundesbank* (Federal Bank) are of great importance. The level of the short-term interest rate either dampens the economy or kindles it; the long-term interest rate influences the readiness to invest and thereby the demand on the labour market.

The German Trade Union Federation (DGB) does a great job of integration in the coordination of the representations of interests of the economy as a whole. The DGB unites the 16 individual trade unions and thereby represents about 11 million workers. That is 85 per cent of all employees who are organised in trade unions. The remaining 15 per cent are either members of the Christian Trade Union Federation (CGB) or the *Angestellte* (salaried employees) trade union (DAG). The CGB broke away from the DGB in the mid-1950s, but has never found the support it hoped for from the workers, churches or political parties. The fact that the *Angestellte* have their own trade union in contrast to the organisations for *Arbeiter* (wage-earners) is due to historical reasons which are losing their plausibility at a time of technological and social change. Indicative of that is the success of the chemicals, paper and ceramic industries trade union which negotiated with employers the same pay award for both blue- and white-collar workers. In the pay negotiations of the civil service the competent DGB organisation and the DAG sit together opposite the employers and conclude deals together.

As the leading workers' organisation, the DGB is the umbrella body of 16 branch trade unions which are autonomous in their collective bargaining policies and finances. The DGB's main task is to represent the cross-union interests of its member unions vis-à-vis the Confederation of German Employers' Associations (BDA), and in politics and among the public.

The trade unions, and thereby essentially the DGB organisations, speak for practically the entire workforce. Even when, according to the letter of the law, wage agreements apply only to trade union members, in reality they benefit all employees.

What the unions and employers agree upon can also be compulsory for outsiders. Upon application, the Federal labour minister or a competent *Land* (State) minister can declare wage agreements to be generally binding. As a rule, that arises in the building industry and is meant to prevent distortions in competition.

The government and Opposition, and the workers and employers in Germany argue about the same thing: the controllability of the economy, the possibility of achieving growth, and in this sense the steerability of the economy. All involved are largely agreed on diagnostic methods and steering instruments, and base them to a great extent on the same scientific fundamental ideas. The dispute is about which options should be given priority. The capability for dialogue is promoted by the fact that many representatives of the trade unions and employers personally incorporate different functions: many of them are at the same time MPs in State parliaments or the *Bundestag* (Federal Parliament).

Partners in self-administration

One of the main features of the German social state is the self-administration in social insurance. This encompasses the statutory pension, health and unemployment insurance schemes which are financed by the same level of contributions by workers and employers. The "social partners", that is the trade unions and management, exercise a right of control vis-à-vis the public administration.

The most marked example of this is their participation in the Federal Labour Office (BA), in Nuremberg, which pays unemployment benefits and also implements public job creation measures or retraining programmes. The managerial organs (executive board and supervisory board) consist, on a one-third each basis of equality, of representatives of the trade unions, the employers and state institutions. They are appointed by the Federal minister for Labour and Social Order.

In the statutory pension and health insurance schemes, the state limits itself to legislation and leaves the details (e.g. the statutes), to the social partners. The employers and trade unions delegate representatives to the managerial organs on an equal footing, and "social elections" are held every six years for that purpose. Every insured person has a vote and can also stand as a candidate. Those candidates proposed by the trade unions have the best prospects.

Social insurance disputes are decided by social courts in which two lay persons assist the professional judge as assessors. They are proposed by the employers' associations and trade unions, and appointed by the *Land* minister for labour and social affairs. If the verdict is delivered within the judicial discretion of the judge, the assessors can out-vote him or her. The labour courts, which deal with disputes under labour law, function in the same way.

Collective pay policy against unemployment

Since the low employment of the years 1983 to mid-1992, about 3.5 million new jobs have been created in Germany. But in recent times the consequences of a serious economic crisis have been felt. In the processing industry, almost one million jobs were lost from 1991 to 1993. In mid-1993 production capacities as a whole were utilised to only 76 per cent. On May 1, 1994, the Day of Labour, the chairman of the DGB described work as "what in our society at present is most urgently needed".

A general political discussion on securing Germany as an industrial location was got going by the Federal government in 1993. Its starting point was the knowledge that developing and threshold countries, particularly in Asia, would catch up fast in modernisation and become serious economic competitors. Germany as a high-wage country must rank among the leaders in technological progress and further increase the productivity of its industry. The economic transformation in the East European reform states requires considerable investments, while the pool of labour there is becoming larger and thereby cheaper. The western German labour market must be prepared for further arrivals.

Against this background, the wage rounds for 1994 began with a shock. The employers in the metalworking industry terminated for the first time an ongoing collective agreement with the IG Metall trade union. The determining factor for the employers was the situation in the highly-modern steel industry which was suffering badly from distortions in competition among European Union countries. But instead of a big row the dispute ended here, as in almost all pay negotiations, with swift agreement. The wage increases were set all down the line at between zero and about 2 per cent. In view of an inflation rate of 3 per cent and increases in income tax and surcharges following German unity, this restraint on pay meant in real terms a waiving of income. This was something that the trade unions as recently as

1992 had tried to prevent by big strikes. But this time growth in productivity also had priority for them. The experiences of the 1970s and 1980s showed that only real economic growth of more than 1.7 per cent leads to more employment. The evenly spread low wage increases demonstrated the resolute will towards this target.

Plant reorganisation: less pay for less work

The collective wage agreement between IG Metall and Volkswagen for 1994 introduced an innovation. In order to prevent mass dismissals, both sides agreed on a four-day working week for the time being. This meant a 15 per cent pay cut for the workers. Similar settlements were also made in the chemicals industry and the civil service.

The new rules mean the breaking of a decades-old taboo. Previously, the trade unions had demanded shorter working hours "with full pay adjustment" without qualifications. What they meant was a securing of the present real income by a corresponding increase in hourly wages. Under these preconditions, the normal weekly working hours fell in recent decades from 48 to an average of 37½ today. The employers went along with that because what actually counted for them was the hourly productivity rate. Whether the costs side is accounted for purely by wage increases or is made up of pay growth plus a shortening of working hours is thereby unimportant for them.

The new-style 32-hour week is aimed at securing jobs during a necessary structural change in a plant. Thereby IG Metall also looked after apprentices, whose employment with a firm, according to the law, expires when they have completed their training. In an agreement with car-maker Opel all of the company's apprentices will be kept on at the standard wage, although they will work less than 30 hours a week, which will then increase in stages to the normal working hours.

As a new instrument of labour market policy, the collectively agreed 32-hour week differs in particular from the legally foreseen short-time working. In the latter case, the local labour office pays the worker a wage substitute of a good 60 per cent for the missing working hours. But short-time working must be approved by the labour office, and is only permissible during an economic or seasonal crisis and not to bridge in-plant problems.

More employed through part-time work

The central associations of the employers and workers and the Federal Labour Office called for more part-time work as a means of relieving unemployment back in 1984. Part-time working covers every activity that remains under the normal weekly working hours. However, only activities of more than 15 hours a week have any weight in labour market policy terms, whereby deductions for pension, health and unemployment insurance also count. A typical example is half-day working.

Part-time workers make up about 11 per cent of the national workforce. Three-quarters of the part-time jobs are offered in the service sector, one of the substantial growth areas of the German econonmy. Employment as a whole rose from the summer of 1991 to the summer of 1992 by 1.5 per cent, but in the part-time sector by 5 per cent. Cross-checking also puts part-time work in a good light: on average in 1992, unemployment increased by 7 per cent, but among part-time workers by only 4 per cent. In this respect, the recommendation of more part-time work is a proven means against mass unemployment. But, 92 per cent of all part-time workers are women - male job-seekers obviously still find it very difficult to take up such work.

Flexible working hours

The normal working day in Germany is eight hours. According to the law, Sundays and public holidays are fundamentally days of rest. The major churches also insist on that.

Flexible working hours allow industry longer machine running times, more productivity and lower unit labour costs, and thereby wage security or increases. There have long been corresponding agreements between workers and employers, for example, in the metalworking industry.

A new labour law discussed in 1994 is also to serve the achievement of these targets. This sees working hours from Monday to Saturday being extended to 10 a day. The precondition for such a regular extension of working hours would be adjustment to an average of eight hours within six months or 24 weeks. The lawmakers would thereby offer employers and trade unions a working hours framework that they could fill in when they concluded their collective bargaining agreements.

This would be of particular advantage to firms with seasonal business, such as a manufacturer of chocolates who must organise himself for increased demand ahead of big festive occasions. With a 10-hour day, employers and trade unions could agree on a four-day week or 28 working days off within a period of 24 weeks. Such scope would offer the social partners a good chance to take account of employees' demands for more individual shaping of their time. The already agreed or targeted options for work on Sundays and public holidays are especially interesting for service sector and data processing businesses.

The ban on night work by women will be lifted because of equal rights. Violations of the old regulation have anyway no longer been prosecuted following a ruling of the Federal High Court in 1991. German law was thus adapted at the same time to a vote of the European Court in Luxembourg. An

example of the old rule was bakeries, where work begins at 4 a.m., if not earlier. But for more than 100 years women were not allowed to start work before 6 a.m. The only exceptions to the rule were especially qualified women such as those with power of attorney in a company. The new regulation will offer women in simple jobs, such as in a mail order warehouse, new employment possibilities. The previous customary extra pay for night work could be replaced in stages by a system of reduced working hours, which the trade unions suggest.

The progressive flexibilisation of working hours with partly considerably long "leisure-time compensation" reduces the volume of overtime, but also at the same time the offer of new jobs.

Company pension schemes and invested wages

The normal provision for retired persons is the statutory pension. However, this alone is often not sufficient to maintain the standard of living achieved during their working lives. But it is rather more possible with an additional company pension scheme. Today, four out of 10 pensioners receive such freely-agreed benefits from their former employers. Six out of 10 employees already have corresponding assurances in the case of occupational invalidity, for their old age and for their surviving dependants. In industry, in fact, three-quarters of all employees enjoy rights that are also enforceable at law at the latest after they have worked for a company for 12 years.

The DGB has made the extension of company pension schemes to all workers its goal. In collective agreements with companies the assurances, which differ greatly from firm to firm, can be taken into consideration without further ado. But that is much more difficult in industry-wide collective bargaining agreements which apply to all companies. The DGB therefore demands that employers and trade unions also be

given the possibility to top up old age pensions by additional contributions to the statutory pension insurance scheme.

So far, two other methods have predominated. A firm, for example, pays contributions into an out-of-company or its own pension fund or insurance scheme whose management is controlled by the Federal supervisory office for the insurance business. Companies with high investment needs prefer an internal financing of their pension schemes. They give direct pension assurances which are secured by their own capital. This capital is available to the company until the time of payment and can be used for investment. From the point of view of labour costs this form of provision for old age comes close to invested wages, i.e. worker participation in company capital.

Company models of invested wages and conceptions favouring them, however, are rejected by the DGB. Its target instead remains an out-of-company participation in profits which should be the same for all workers.

This form of wage centralism appears to more and more workers to be an outdated policy. They expect from the trade unions above all individual services (e.g. legal advice), and want to find solutions to problems of working hours or wages at company level. They believe that an innovative industry needs appropriate scope, and that the trade unions should concern themselves primarily with minimum wage levels.

Basic problem of long-term unemployment

According to the cyclical theory, economic downturns and falls in employment alternate with extensive upswings. However, in recent decades the number of the long-term jobless has grown from recession to recession. This applies to all industrial nations.

There are various reasons for the difficulties in finding work again for people who have been unemployed for a long time. Approximately half of them have no vocational training qualifications and therefore for that reason alone can only with difficulty cope with the demands of the modern industrial society. The share of foreign workers and their children in this group is disproportionate.

The Federal Labour Office finances wage subsidies in the new German states, paying employers about DM 1,500 a month per workplace if the worker is paid less as a whole than standard wages. Otherwise, the assistance would increase normal wages. Only so is the incentive to continue to make efforts to find regular instead of state-subsidised work maintained.

According to the government draft bill for an amended employment promotion law, this instrument is also to be introduced in the old states. The trade unions, however, are resisting the spread of the "low-wage sector". The civil service trade union (ÖTV), which finds itself faced by a state forced to save, now fears an endangerment of autonomy in collective bargaining and is demanding the "same pay for the same work". That means wage protection for the possessor of the workplace.

IG Chemie, the chemicals industry workers' trade union, has shown itself to be more accommodating. It has agreed with the employers that when they hire a long-term unemployed person he or she will be paid an "entry wage" of 80 per cent of normal pay for the first year of employment. The trade union thereby also takes technological development into account. Anyone in the chemicals industry who is "out of the business" for only one year has at first a lot to learn upon returning to it.

Avoid the downward spiral

Unit labour ccsts, calculated in particular from wages, working hours and machine running times, are high in Germany and an essential factor in international competition. Certainly, for a long time they grew more slowly than the average of the OECD states. That changed only in 1992-93 because of the low utilisation of production capacities. But the moderate wage increases of 1994 have again improved Germany's position in comparison with other countries.

Nevertheless, in the public debate it is often asserted that wages are too high and impede economic growth. In contrast, the German *Bundesbank* (Federal Bank) in May 1994 made clear that unit labour costs were only an inexact benchmark for competitiveness. Whoever bought "Made in Germany" bought quality. But quality is not simply a technical value that is provided with the finished product. Modern economic sciences teach that "total quality management" includes other factors such as punctual delivery, reliable customer service and a constant readiness for innovation. These are criteria according to which German industry lies well ahead and is far superior to the suppliers of "cheap" goods.

German employers therefore often see themselves in the position to give their workers voluntary payments above the wages agreed in collective bargaining (bonuses for anniversaries, time served, Christmas, etc.). In a chemicals company with 50,000 employees that amounts to a total of more than DM 1 billion in a year. Now its thrifty bookkeepers, as in other firms, are suggesting cutbacks, although certainly of less than 10 per cent. Touching incomes permanently is barred if only because the chemicals industry, disregarding weak economic phases, is experiencing a noticeable shortage of specialists.

The pension insurance organisations recently pointed out the serious consequences of a dampening of wages. A drop in net wages (caused by increased surcharges) would at the same time mean a fall in pension payments which are linked to them. That would be a socio-political emergency which the Federal Republic has so far not experienced.

Most of the unemployed belong not to the high-wage groups, but to the low-paid. Their productivity often appears to be still too low even for that classification. But as the trade unions in collective bargaining regularly extract a "social bonus" for low-wage groups, they make their new employment difficult.

German trade unions in upheaval

The image of the trade unions, like that of other big organisations with their unavoidably bureaucratic and anonymous structures, has also suffered in Germany. The collapse of some non-profit making union businesses in the 1970s and 1980s (the Neue Heimat housing group and the Coop grocery chain), and private stock exchange dealings with insider knowledge, reinforced a continuing negative echo in the media. The once traditional big rallies on the Day of Labour (May 1) attract ever fewer union members on to the streets. Organised strikes are more disfavoured by the public than ever before.

The economic situation is also influencing the trade unions. In the spring of 1994 the DGB, which has 2,700 employees, announced staff cutbacks of about 13 per cent. The reductions are to be made as far as possible through retirements or voluntary departures.

Individual unions are hard up for cash, and during strikes are dependent upon the solidarity of others. Plans for a comprehensive structural reform of the trade unions foresee the reduction of the present 16 organisations to six. The three unions covering the chemicals, paper and ceramic

industries, the coal mining and energy industry and the leather industry have had a common roof since the beginning of 1994 and will soon combine. The trade union for commerce, banking and insurance (HBV) is to form the core of a big new union representing the service sector. Both new organisations would then have about as many members as the civil service and transport workers' trade union (ÖTV) which has a membership of more than one million. The heavyweight in the DGB is still IG Metall, which with more than three million members is the largest single-industry trade union in the world.

The topic of the future: gain new members

In 1977 women had a share of less than 20 per cent in 186 recognized trades for which formal training is required. In 1992 the number was down to only 54. In 21 formerly "male dominated" occupations the number of male and female apprentices was equal. And in the service and part-time sectors, which are the working areas of the future, women are statistically over-represented.

The percentage of women trade union members varies from union to union, naturally so when one for example thinks of coal-mining. The trade unions covering commerce, banking and the insurance business (HBV) or education and science (GEW) have mostly women members. A woman heads the civil service trade union. According to the DGB, the recruitment of women members is developing satisfactorily, namely in line with their growing proportion of the workforce as a whole.

The number of pensioners among trade union members is growing, as in German society as a whole. Because at present young people of low birth rate years are entering working life, growth in young trade union members is also correspondingly weak. In addition, there are also specific reasons which hamper the recruitment of new members. The traditional worker environment in which the son, like his father, joined a trade union has disintegrated. After 10

years or more at school young workers are already more mature than their counterparts of decades ago and largely socialised. For them, the question of membership of a trade union is a cool cost-benefit calculation: "What's it going to do for me?"

The trade unions are reacting to this "service mentality" and presenting themselves to school leavers with suggestions for choosing occupations or composing job applications. The service offer is reinforced at advice centres or meetings in cafés. Recruiting efforts also include leisure time offers or social initiatives in the environmental field and in developing countries.

Union members with foreign passports

A good two million foreign workers are employed full-time in Germany in 1994, of which about two-thirds are members of trade unions. More than 8,000 foreigners are members of works councils, which represent the interests of company employees vis-à-vis their managements.

Trade unions and employers are united in their solidarity with their foreign colleagues and employees. A joint declaration of the DGB and BDA gave the following "good reasons" for that:

- foreign workers have been firmly tied to the work process in Germany for decades and in many branches can hardly be replaced;
- almost 200,000 foreigners operate small- and medium-sized businesses in Germany with an average of three to four workplaces;
- foreign workers earn DM 200 billion a year, 10 per cent of the economic performance in Germany;
- foreign workers as consumers also support the economy;
- foreigners pay about DM 90 billion a year in taxes and social security contributions;

- foreigners today pay substantially more into pension insurance than they claim, and thereby contribute to the securing of the German pension system;
- every second job in Germany is dependent upon exports and presupposes a cosmopolitan climate at the workplace.

The DGB's Federal executive board maintains its own "Foreign Workers" department, and the first foreign employee, an Italian, was active within this framework full-time back in 1956. A monthly DGB information sheet appears in six languages. Beyond that, the DGB and BDA have set up a joint "Foreigners" working group. The trade unions and employers are also leading members of the coordination group "Foreign Workers" at the Federal Ministry for Labour and Social Order, where representatives of the social partners meet with specialists of individual ministries. It is at this level that the DGB is calling for the granting of double citizenship to those foreigners who wish it.

(INTER NATIONES)

The trade unions and their members

The 16 branch trade unions in the DGB and their members

Trade unions	Members
IG Bau, Steine, Erden (Building industry)	643,000
IG Bergbau und Energie (Mining and energy)	483,000
IG Chemie-Papier-Keramik (Chemicals, paper, ceramics)	849,000
Gew. d. Eisenbahner Deutschlands (Railwaymen)	475,000
Gew. Erziehung u. Wissenschaft (Education and science)	330,000
Gew. Gartenbau, Land- u. Forstwirtschaft (Gardeners, farmers, foresters)	129,000
Gew. Handel, Banken u. Versicherung (Commerce, banks and insurance)	597,000
Gew. Holz und Kunststoff (Wood and plastics)	196,000
Gew. Leder (Leather)	35,000
IG Medien (Media, printing, publicity, art)	231,000
IG Metall (Metalworking)	3,489,000
Gew. Nahrung-Genuss-Gaststätten (Food and catering)	411,000
Gew. Öff. Dienste, Transp. u. Verkehr (Civil service and transport workers)	2,115,000
Gew. der Polizei (Police)	197,000
Deutsche Postgewerkschaft (Postal, Telekom workers)	591,000
Gew. Textil Bekleidung (Textiles and clothing)	302,000

The Christian Trade Union Federation: 311,000 members.
Deutsche Angestellten-Gewerkschaft: 578,000.

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